

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 05201 171429Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W  
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R 171350Z APR 75  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8187

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 5201

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, IN, US  
SUBJECT: INDIA ON THE ATTACK

REF: NEW DELHI 5121 AND 5200

1. TWO WEEKS AGO I REPORTED THAT THE INDIANS DID NOT SEEM TO BE WORKING VERY HARD AT THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE US. I CONTINUE TO GET EVIDENCE WHICH SUPPORTS THIS CONCLUSION. IN A FORMAL DEBATE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE PARLIAMENT ON APRIL 16 CHAVAN DISTORTED OUR ARMS POLICY BY ATTACKING US FOR CREATING A BALANCE OF POWER THROUGH ARMS SUPPLY. HE SAID THAT INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US SHOULD NOT BE EQUATED BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION STOOD BY INDIA IN TIME OF CRISIS. THE FUTURE OF INDO-US RELATIONS, ACCORDING TO CHAVAN, DEPENDED UPON OUR ACCEPTING INDIAN SENSITIVITIES. (SEE NEW DELHI 5121 FOR DETAILS.)

2. AT THE SAME GENERAL TIME CHAVAN WAS SAYING THIS, MRS. GANDHI, DEFENSE MINISTER SWARAN SINGH, THE HOME MINISTER, AND A COUPLE OF STATE CHIEF MINISTERS PUT THE US TO USE FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES IN QUITE AN UN-ACCEPTABLE WAY. THEY ALL OPPOSED OPPOSITION DEMANDS FOR THE END OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN EFFECT SINCE THE 1971 WAR ON THE GROUNDS OF US ARMS TO PAKISTAN, THE "FEVERISH ARMS BUILD-UP" IN THE REGION, AND THE THREAT OF AGGRESSION FROM THE SEA FROM SOME UNNAMED SEA POWER.

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PAGE 02 NEW DE 05201 171429Z

INDICATIVE OF THE STATE OF OUR RELATIONS OUT HERE IS THAT

ANYONE HEARING SUCH REMARKS UNDERSTANDS THAT THEY ALL  
REFER TO THE US. (SEE NEW DELHI 5200.)

3. SINCE THE INDIANS DIDN'T SEEM TO BE ON THE ROAD TO  
A MATURE RELATIONSHIP, XI TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE INDIAN  
DINNER FOR SECRETARY SIMON TO SPEAK PRIVATELY TO BOTH  
P.N. DHAR, MRS. GANDHI'S PRIVATE SECRETARY, AND G. PARTHA-  
SARATHY, THE SENIOR OFFICIAL PRESENT FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY.  
I NOTED THE NEW OFFICIAL INDIAN LINE ON THE US AND SAID THAT WE  
CERTAINLY DIDN'T APPRECIATE BEING CLASSED AS A BELLIGERENT,  
NOR DID WE ENJOY THE DAILY ABUSE WE WERE TAKING. WHAT DID  
THEY WANT, THAT THE US GET COMPLETELY OUT OF INDIA? DHAR  
AND PARTHASARATHY DID NOT DENY THE GOI LINE (ALTHOUGH DHAR  
LAMELY CLAIMED THAT MRS. GANDHI COULDN'T HAVE MEANT THE  
US WHEN SHE SPOKE OF THE NAVAL THREAT) AND ONLY ADVISED  
ME TO WAIT UNTIL THINGS QUIETED DOWN. THEY EXPLAINED  
THAT I SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE SHOCK WHICH OUR ARMS DECISION  
HAD CAUSED IN INDIA.

4. I HAVE NOT BEEN EKNCOURAGED BY THIS LATEST EXCHANGE  
AND DON'T SEE HOW WE CAN IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH INDIA  
WHILE WE ARE BEING ACCUSED OF BEING A THREAT TO IT.  
IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THAT THE INDIANS HAVE MADE A DECISION  
THAT WE ARE MORE USEFUL TO THEM AS A FOE TO BE USED IN  
THEIR POLITICAL BATTLES THAN AS A FRIEND WHO COULD HELP  
IN PERHAPS LESS IMMEDIATE WAYS. OF COURSE, THEY WOULD  
LIKE TO USE US FOR BOTH, BUT I HAVE BY DOUBTS ABOUT PER-  
MITTING THIS.

5. I AM SADDENED BY ALL OF THIS BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT  
THIS TURN FOR THE WORSE WILL ENDURE FOR SOME TIME AND  
BECAUSE I AM CONVINCED IT IS THE RESUL OF OUR ARMS  
DECISION. THE INDIANS HAVE MISREAD OUR POLICY AND CER-  
TANILY ARE NOT BEHAVING RATIONALLY. BUT XTHIS HAS NEVER  
BEEN AN ISSUE WHICH PROMPTED RATIONALITY. WHAT CONCERNS  
ME IS THAT AFTER THE SHOCK OF THE ARMS POLICY CHANGE, THE  
INDIANS MAY HAVE LOOKED AROUND AT OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RE-  
LATIONS AND FOUND THEM SO THIN THAT THEY SAW LITTLE  
INCENTIVE TO LOOK AFTER THEIR RELATIONS WITH US. AND  
THE PROSPECT OF MORE FOOD NEXT YEAR WILL NOT ALTER THE  
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PAGE 03 NEW DE 05201 171429Z

SITUATION. WE WILL TAKE A LOT OF PUNISHMENT DURING  
THE COMING ELECTION YEAR.

6 I INTEND TO CONTINUE MAKING INDIAN OFFICIALS AWARE  
OF HOW WE FEEL ABOUT THEIR ATTACKS AND WHAT THEIR EFFECT  
WILL BE ON OUR RELATIONS. I WILL SPEAK TO CHAVAN  
ABOUT IT THE NEXT CHANCE I GET.  
SAXBE

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## Message Attributes

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